

NEW NATIONAL ERA.

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The Defection of Carl Schurz Once More.

Our reason for coming back once more to the apostasy of CARL SCHURZ may be sought in the very love and admiration we entertained for this remarkably gifted and able man. We considered him entirely one of our in purpose and principle, and consequently feel his defection from us more keenly than that of many others, whom we have seen desert our ranks without experiencing any great sorrow, having never given them credit for any convictions whatever. The case of Mr. Schurz is assuming worse and worse aspects. He was in fact the head and the soul of the gang of unscrupulous politicians who, under the most flimsy pretext, evidently for the purpose of winning favor with the Conservatives, caused the crushing defeat of the Republican party in Missouri, and thus delivered to the Democrats a State which since the day of the rebellion had always rolled up overwhelming Republican majorities. The result has been just the one they had worked for; and if they have committed an error of judgment, it has been in calculating on the gratitude of the Democrats, whom they helped to power, and who will soon make them feel that they have only used them as cat-paws. Thus far the mistake merely concerns the expediency of the treason committed, for CARL SCHURZ is too deep a politician, too wise a statesman not to have known in advance that by his and his followers' bolting he would break the power of the Republicans in Missouri for years to come; consequently, to have broken it with the full, though not avowed, intent of doing so. He has, besides, too much sagacity, too much insight in the state of the country—as he amply showed in his earlier and better days, when he devoted his rare gifts to the cause of liberty and progress—not to know the Republican party has by no means fulfilled its mission. He cannot ignore the fact that the Democrats are only watching their opportunity to wrest from us all the results of our victories, which they opposed to the very last. He knows that they are to-day as bitterly hostile as ever to the Fifteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Bill; that this hostility manifests itself in the Southern States in the shape of assassinations and the depredations of the Ku-Klux Klan. No one doubts that, if ever restored to power, they would have nothing more pressing to do than to repeal or otherwise modify all the guarantees of liberty and equal rights on which depend the peace and prosperity of the country. Who in the world but the Republican party, a Republican Congress, a Republican Administration, will be the faithful custodians of those guarantees? And who else can be trusted with their effectual execution? This is the mission for which the Republican party is still needed, and will yet be needed for many years to come, until the last of the present generation of ex-slaveholders and rebels will have died out. For the present all other issues (save that of the payment of the national debt, upon which the majority of the Republicans are agreed) are side issues, particularly all those which are only questions of expediency, such as amnesty and "revenue reform," will better find their settlement inside of the Republican party than outside of it. They may some day be made a plank in a platform, but they can never furnish material for the foundation of a platform—never become watchwords of a new party. We admit that a man may feel thoroughly dissatisfied with his own party for the introduction of some issue that he does not approve of, or for the omission of some other which he thinks necessary; in such

a case, however, an honest and faithful supporter of the main principles of his party would rather withdraw from the contest altogether than throw his influence in the balance in favor of its invertebrate enemies.

Thus far Mr. SCHURZ's case would simply appear to be one of apostasy. Apostasy, however, is like many other things, rather relative than absolute; that is, right or wrong, according to the conditions of the individual case. When a man honestly renounces former errors, because he recognizes and acknowledges them as such, no one but a fanatic will condemn him on that ground. General BUTLER is a renegade Democrat, such is Mr. DRAKE, such was Mr. STANTON, and some other men, whom, nevertheless, we welcomed to our ranks, because they came openly, and we believed in their sincerity. CARL SCHURZ, on the contrary, is not such an honest renegade. He commits the act, yet lacks the moral courage to take the consequences. After having dealt the severest blow to the Republican party that was in his power to inflict on it, he yet disclaims the intention of defeating it, and emphatically asserts to be still a Republican! No, Mr. SCHURZ; such dodges will never answer! We believed in your character, in your devotion to principle, but we know your brilliant intellect, your great reasoning power, and can, therefore, more easily abandon our faith in your integrity than we can believe you so utterly destitute of judgment as to commit so serious an act without realizing its necessary results. The truth is, Mr. Schurz knows full well that his cause is bad, and consequently is ashamed to acknowledge it. In this respect he reminds us of the slaveholders, who when they attempted to destroy the Union, knowing very well that they could never enlist the sympathies of foreign nations in a struggle for the perpetuation and extension of slavery, utterly disclaimed this to be their object, but pretended to have been driven to secession by the oppression of the North.

There is yet another feature in Mr. Schurz's case. He is a German, and this circumstance aggravates his apostasy. An American, born and bred under the pernicious influences of prejudice of color and race, of associations and traditions, may possibly be a Democrat, and nevertheless preserve some redeeming qualities, a certain degree of integrity and kindness. A German, who, on the contrary, in his own country has never been brought under such influences, who has always been taught to consider slavery and all its consequences as the greatest wrongs ever inflicted on human beings, has to renounce all his noble impulses, all his convictions of right and wrong, has, indeed, to divest himself of his better self, before he can plunge into the pool of corruption calling itself the "Democratic party." With most of the German Democrats it is a mere bread-and-butter affair; with others it is vile and cowardly subservency to the nation whose wrongs and prejudices they adopt and ape, merely out of their inborn mean and servile disposition. The German Democrat is usually less malignant than his American brother—not so much disposed to violence—but he is, nevertheless, the meaner and more contemptible bled of the two. FAUST, in Goethe's tragedy, calls MERPHISTOPHELES "a birth of dirt and fire." This epithet fully applies to the German Democrat, only that the fire has to be omitted; for, indeed, there is nothing of MERPHISTOPHELES' spirit in them. Of course, in dealing with the German Democrats, we do not include those harmless victims of Democratic falsehood who, in blissful ignorance of our language and our affairs, are led to believe that the word "Democracy" has the same meaning here that it has in Europe, and vote the Democratic ticket in the belief to support the cause of justice and liberty. There is, besides, a peculiarity in the German character, which necessarily leads the better part of them into the Republican ranks. As a people they are less compromising than we are; less apt to make concessions to mere expediency. They are either inflexibly devoted to convictions, or hopelessly destitute of convictions.

Thus far, it has been the pride of the Germans in America that those of their number who have become prominent by intellect, talent, and knowledge, indeed, the whole elite of German Americans, have either been distinguished as Republicans or as ultra Radicals. In gratitude, and by way of illustration, we may refer to General SIGEL, CARL HEINZ, Professor LIEBER, FREDERICK SCHURZ, FREDERICK KAPP, CARL RIOTTE, SIGISMUND KAUFMANN as noble examples of the class to which we have referred, and the list might be greatly extended. It is a telling fact, and vastly to the credit of culture, that there is not one German enlisted on the Democratic side at all noteworthy for either learning, intellect, or any particular gift whatever. CARL SCHURZ is indisputably one of the most brilliant men in the Republican party, and should he go over to the Democratic party he will stand comparatively alone in point of intellectual attainments; for, as we have said, the elite of the Germans, to whom he properly belongs, are, without exception, in the Republican party.

The Political Outlook.

The present national administration is rapidly approximating the end of half its constitutional term, and the natural consequence is that statesmen and politicians begin to study the political heavens for aspects pointing to the future. Within the next year the campaign of 1872 will begin to take shape under the issues that are to excite and divide public sentiment in that contest. Thus far, so far as reflecting men have observed the administration of Gen. GRANT, they award to him marked ability and consistency in sustaining the fundamental principles of the Republican faith. In this his conduct is unimpeached and unimpeachable. He has proved true to the principles of freedom and right. He has studied carefully and protected the material interests of the country in the policy that he has stamped upon its government. The Republican party promised the people, at Chicago, that the principles involved and contended for by the Government in crushing the rebellion should be respected during the ensuing four years. That pledge has thus far been faithfully redeemed by the President. They pledged an honest, efficient, and economical administration of public affairs. In this the most implicit faith has been kept. They gave assurance that the burdens that a Democratic rebellion had imposed upon the people should be relieved as far and as fast as the interests of the country would permit. In that all that was promised has been fulfilled with marked fidelity. Taxes have been reduced, and those which have been retained have been efficiently collected so as to equalize these burdens. Those who skulked their just responsibilities, or resorted to fraud to wrong the revenues of the Government, have been ferreted out, detected, and punished. All this has vindicated the sterling integrity of the administration, and inspired the public with a confidence that its bitter enemies dare not undertake to disturb.

In all this the administration of General GRANT has fully met the expectations of the people. The dangers, therefore, that may threaten the future of the Republican party

find no lodgment in any of these considerations. If they really exist, their causes will be found in a different direction. The Democratic party is made up of mere politicians, without a score of honest, high-minded statesmen among its prominent leaders. In the South it is constituted almost exclusively of rebels who have forfeited life and liberty by the rank and file treason against the Government. In the North its master-spirits are mere adventurers and speculators, who seek their personal aggrandizement at public expense. This is the real character of the open enemy with which the Republican party must do battle for the mastery.

These, however, with all their cunning, deep-laid designs, and well-arranged "rings" for carrying their purposes, would be unequal to elevate the Democratic party to power in the nation, but for an element in the Republican ranks which is liable to be made useful to their ends and aims. There are men in the Republican ranks who favor universal amnesty before the virus of treason and rebellion has been killed and rendered harmless. There are those who make politics and its rewards the paramount object of their citizenship, and who have not been, in their own estimation, properly appreciated in the dispensation of the honors and fishes by the administration. There are others, no doubt, who feel that they have suffered wrong in some disappointments. There are those who begin to feel, perhaps, that the mission of the Republican party has been filled, and that it is time to look for a new theme under the chances of the future. There are, also, those who have heretofore acted with the Republican party, whose ties to the organization are too weak to endure the severe strain that comes of intestine difficulties and collisions, and who are ready to fall away when trials come upon it, and the metals of genuine Republicanism are submitted to the test of this crucible. There is another class of politicians, who have entered the Republican ranks under the same impulses that lead the camp-follower to be identified with the army, and who hang upon its skirts in search of plunder. When that disappears, they are likely to disappear also. These men were identified with ANDREW JOHNSON in his crusade against Republicanism, and sloughed back into the Republican party upon his exit from public life, and are mere political ephemera, and unreliable, wherever found. All these difficulties and influences are to be deplored, but they are apparent, and must be looked square in the face, and met, and, if possible, controlled, that ultimate and serious disaster may be averted.

Then there are other and even graver dangers that menace the future unity, harmony, and strength of the Republican party. They are found in a growing want of harmony among eminent Republican statesmen. The virus of disaffection and distrust appears to be spreading until there is danger that the ulcer will strike too deep and broad to be healed before disaster comes. These alienations and this bitterness must be checked, or they will spread throughout the country. The rank and file of the party cannot be expected to be more harmonious, united, and efficient than their leaders. The example is pernicious, and the effect must be unfortunate. If our standard-bearers are to turn their best energies and their most destructive ammunition upon each other, they will have little, if any, in reserve for the common foe when the time comes for beating him back from power. These indications and aspects, which cannot be concealed, even if it were wise to attempt their concealment, admonish every true Republican that danger lurks in the path of his party, unless a new and more harmonious era dawn upon its future prospects. Our object is to point to the signs that we think we discover, and, if possible, to make them useful in bringing better days upon that party upon which the country can alone depend for its future peace, prosperity, and success.

The Franking Privilege.

In a previous number we expressed our opposition to the abolition of the franking privilege. We will now briefly give our reasons for that opposition; and the first one is the simple fact that the privilege is of far greater importance to the people than to those who possess it, and that it is worth to them many times what it costs the Government. And this seems to be the opinion of the people themselves in regard to this alleged outrage. The tax-payers of the country have never discovered that the franking privilege was a grievous burden upon them during the eighty or ninety years of its existence. And it was not until blank petitions were sent to the thirty thousand postmasters of the country by their superior, with directions to procure signatures to them, that any one ever thought of petitioning Congress to repeal the act authorizing the franking privilege. Until then the people were evidently entirely willing to endure this burden, whatever it might be, for the sake of the benefits they derived from it.

But our principal opposition to the abolition of this privilege is based upon its very great benefits to the whole people of the South. During the whole existence of the terrible curse of slavery this oppressed and degraded race have derived not the slightest favors from the Government. They were not only deprived of that protection awarded to every other class of people by the Government, but all its power was exerted against them. Even the privilege of acquiring the simplest rudiments of an education were not only withheld from them, but they were prohibited, by law, from making an effort in that direction.

It is to this cruel prohibition that ignorance so universally prevails among the late slaves. Oppressed as they were by their masters, most of them would have learned to read and write, at least, but for the legal obstacles so carefully thrown in their way by their rapacious owners.

The Government and the people owe this long oppressed race some atonement for these great wrongs. Every consideration of justice and sound policy demand that they should make all reasonable sacrifice to compensate the five millions of freedmen for the rights and privileges so many generations withheld from them. Especially should the most liberal educational facilities be extended to them. One of the most efficient agencies to this end, or one of the most effective auxiliaries to a free school system among them, will prove to be the franking privilege. There is a vast amount of information, as well agricultural, mechanical, and scientific as political, which can never reach them in any other way. The agricultural and mechanical reports printed by the Government will prove of invaluable advantage to them, as they have hitherto to the people generally of the country. It is utterly out of their power to procure these important documents, except from their members of Congress, through the privilege of the frank.

Indeed, it is through the existence of that privilege almost exclusively that they are able to keep up any intercourse with the world. It is not to be presumed that Congressmen will send the documents printed by Congress to their constituents at their own expense. The abolition of the franking privilege would not only deprive them of the very useful information derived from these publications, but would,

in effect, cut off all intercourse between them and their Representatives. It would go very far to abridge even the right of petition. To the class of people of whom we are speaking, very few are able to pay postage on anything more than their own private correspondence. They are now able to make their wishes known to their Representatives, and to receive from them letters and documents, because it costs them nothing. It is through this means that the colored people of the South have been kept informed in regard to the proceedings of Congress, upon the political questions of the day, and upon agricultural and mechanical improvement, more than from any other, if not all others combined. It will prove a powerful and invaluable educational agency to them.

The question now is whether these five millions of people, so long deprived of all the benefits of the Government, and now so earnestly seeking knowledge, shall be deprived of this important aid, on the pretext that it costs the Government too much? Before Congress commits this great injustice—for it deserves no milder name—it will be well for them carefully to count all other as well as the money cost. The suggestions we have made of the advantages the system must prove to the colored race of the South will enable them, with a little thought, to estimate the cost the abolition of the privilege would be to them, and, through them, to the whole country.

And this view of the question is the only one members of Congress should take into consideration. Its cost in money is too insignificant, when compared with its great benefits to the colored race, to have the slightest weight in the minds of those who hold its fate in their hands. A very few facts will justify us in this opinion.

The whole amount of paper printed under public documents, such as are sent off under members' drafts, does not exceed six hundred tons annually. One hundred and fifty tons more will cover the Congressional Globe and all the speeches and campaign documents franked by members. If every pound of this paper were made into bound books, the legal postage on them would be just as many cents as there are ounces in these seven hundred and fifty tons of printed matter, for the postage is a cent an ounce on the bound public documents, and half a cent per ounce on unbound printed matter.

Reduce 750 tons to ounces and we have twenty-four millions, and one cent an ounce would make two hundred and forty thousand dollars. That is what it costs the Government to take these seven hundred and fifty tons of printed matter through the mails, provided every pound of it is bound into books, and also that every pound of it is franked, neither of which suppositions is at all probable, as a large portion of it is not bound at all, nor more than half of it sent away under frank. But we will concede that it is all bound and franked, and that members of Congress would pay the postage on it if they were denied the privilege of franking it, and we then have \$240,000 out of which the Government is cheated by the exercise of the privilege.

The next item that goes to make up the expense which the franking privilege is to the Government consists of the letters franked by members of Congress and others. The privilege is probably used by three hundred and fifty persons, all but about thirty are members of Congress. We will assume that each of these persons send and receive ten thousand letters each annually, exclusive of letters on official business. This would make an aggregate of three million five hundred thousand yearly, which at three cents each would amount to one hundred and five thousand dollars. This is the precise sum the Government loses in consequence of the franking privilege, provided the same number of letters would be written and prepaid were the privilege abolished. But this, too, is an improbable supposition, though we will concede it. Add this sum to the postage on printed matter—\$240,000—and we have just three hundred and forty-five thousand dollars as the whole cost of the franking privilege annually. This is the outside dollar it will or has cost, by the most liberal calculation. But, in point of fact, it is doubtful if it costs the Government a single dollar, for it is not at all probable that contractors would charge any less for carrying the mails were the franking privilege abolished than they do now.

Here is the whole question, and Congress will probably soon have to decide whether this great Government will withhold, for this negligible sum, all the benefits and blessings the franking privilege has been in the past, and may be in the future to a still greater extent. We believe our people, whatever may be said of others, have a right to demand a continuance of the advantages reasonably to be expected from it.

"Civil Service Reform."

Two weeks ago we called for a definition of this well-worn phrase from those who have urged its consideration with so much zeal, and who seem to consider it a cure for all the ills the Government is heir to; but as yet we have received no light upon the subject. We have an idea, gathered from Mr. JACKSON'S bill, rather than any information its advocates have given us, that it is to take the appointment of all Government employees, high and low, not elected by the people, (except, possibly, members of the Cabinet), from the President and heads of Departments, and to confer this duty upon a commission of five men selected by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. These five men, one of whom is to be, ex-officio, the Vice President of the United States, are to appoint not only the men (and women too) employed in the civil service of the Government here in Washington, but all over the country, and our foreign agents. The ten thousand men in the Government service here, the thirty thousand postmasters, custom-house employees, and Indian agents, consuls, and, indeed, every public servant, are to be chosen by this independent, irresponsible commission.

The theory of civil service reform which Mr. JACKSON'S scheme sets forth is, that these legions of men are all to undergo a searching examination by this commission as to their literary, scientific, and other acquirements; judging of each one's fitness for clerkships, consularships, inspectors, assessors, collectors, and other Government servants, by their knowledge of the various branches of learning, which has very little to do with a faithful and efficient discharge of their duties.

We have no faith in this proposed revolution. In the first place, it will be absolutely impossible to execute any such thorough plan of examination of the hundreds of thousands of applicants for places by this commission as the bill proposes. And if it were possible, it would be no improvement on the present mode of appointment, and must, in practice, become a miserable failure. The promise that it would abolish or destroy the system of personal or political favoritism that is said to have so much influence in the selection of clerks and others would not be realized. On the contrary, when the President and heads of Departments are relieved from all responsibility in this matter, the real or pretended evils of the present plan of appointment will be an hundred-fold increased.

The power will be removed from those who are now directly responsible to the people for the way they discharge their trusts to a body beyond their reach, and utterly irresponsible.

We have the high authority of the Secretary of the Treasury that the civil service of our Government is performed as efficiently and faithfully as that of any country in the world. But if it were not so, the President and his Cabinet ministers have the remedy in their own hands. They can at their own unrestrained will discharge from office, without an hour's warning, every unfaithful or incompetent clerk. Under the proposed system this would be impossible. A man once in office, unless he commit some glaring offense, is there for life. The Government service will have fastened upon it an army of Tite Barnacles, which could not be shaken off, and a "circumlocution office" would grow up under it that would be wholly at war with all the notions of the American people. Government employees would be legislated into a privileged aristocratic class still more widely at variance with American ideas and the spirit of American institutions.

If we are not mistaken, General SPINER has long had in practice an infinitely wiser way of selecting competent clerks than this dangerous and impracticable civil service scheme of Mr. JACKSON. It is to give the applicant a month's trial. If he shows himself equal to the duties required of him, and proves capable and faithful, he is appointed; if not, he is permitted to retire. By this simple, commonsense plan he has always in his department good and efficient clerks. This month's trial is a better test of fitness than any examination five men may make, however able and learned.

The efforts of the Civil Service Reformers to commend their scheme by denouncing the practice of appointing men to office for political reasons won't succeed. It is but simple, naked justice that those who have aided by their money and time in bringing a party into power should be preferred to their enemies in the distribution of clerkships. It would be as knavish to refuse applicants for clerkships this recognition, especially at a time like this, when their opponents are but just out of a rebellion against the Government, as it would be to offer an army with enemies to the country, or to appoint members of the Cabinet, heads of divisions, &c., from the ranks of the opposition.

The great fault of our rulers is that they keep too many avowed enemies and lukewarm, time-serving "friends" in clerkships. While we claim that our civil service is reasonably well performed—or, if not, that it is the fault of the appointing power, and not of the system, nor the law—it is yet true that there are scores and hundreds of mere trimmers, regular political Dugalgetys, with none of his fidelity, in all the Departments—men as ready to defend the enemies as the friends of the administration. The great desire of a very goodly proportion of clerks is to occupy such a dubious position as will enable them to jump to the successful side without any violent effort. Such men are mere soldiers of fortune, and should not be kept in office a day longer than their heads can be brought to the block.

But a civil service law, as is proposed, won't cure this evil, nor any other. We had much rather trust to the wisdom of the present appointing agents, responsible as they are to the secretaries, than to any board of irresponsible commissioners. We want no more life offices. We want no privileged class. We want no army of men that the people can't get at as fast as they prove faithless and incompetent.

Our Public Lands.

The attempt by an organization known as the Colonization Society to run the free men and women of color from the shores of the United States to Africa, from whence came their ancestors, in order, as was very evident, that the system which was gnawing at the vitals of the nation and paving the way for a deluge of blood and expenditure of treasure might become strengthened and flourish, awakened, as was natural, in the minds of the better thinking portion of colored men a hostility to anything looking to the removal of colored people anywhere or for any purpose.

In the days of slavery opposition to colonization, come in whatever shape it might, was right. But now that slavery has been abolished, and the black man is acknowledged to be a citizen, with all the rights and immunities that any other class of citizens have, there can be no harm in his looking over our vast public domain in search of some spot whereon he can better his condition by growing in wealth, education, and morals.

At the close of the rebellion, and the consummation of measures for reconstructing the rebellious States, the ex-slaves, inspired, no doubt, by a high sense of justice, held the idea that the plantations of their late rebel masters would be confiscated by the Government of the United States and turned over to them. These slaves remembered the years of unrequited toil forced from them by the enemies of the Union, and their own firm devotion to the cause of a nation that had done nothing for them but to direct its power and might with crushing force against their lives, their liberty, and their very existence.

The freedman's desire for property was not to be gratified in the manner that accorded with their ideas of justice, and as they had been sometimes, by designing politicians of the rebel persuasion, led to believe it would be. They found that if they would own lands they must pay for them in money, notwithstanding they had over and over again paid for them in blood and labor. Hampered and oppressed by laws regulating contracts for labor by which the freedman could be most outrageously cheated without his having any recourse by which he could obtain redress, it has been impossible for any considerable number of the late slaves to acquire landed property.

There are here and there scattered through the Southern States colored men owning farms or plantations, and a larger number renting, who, by managing to evade the hostility of the rebels around them, make a passably good living. From this class of men, who are possessed of some little means, we ask attention to the vast amount of good public lands which can be secured for a mere trifle, and at a little sacrifice of what may seem to be ease and comfort be made the means of enriching them and giving paid employment to many others who have not the necessary funds to commence farming for themselves.

There are many Territories of the West or Southwest, with climate agreeable to the colored men of the South, where those of them having sufficient courage, money, stock, or farming implements might migrate and settle upon one hundred and sixty acres of land, which can be had by paying the Government one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre, or for nothing at all but living on and cultivating that much land for five years.

The colored people of this country must secure a fair proportion of the public lands. Instead of delving on as paid, and in a great number of instances unpaid, laborers for others, the freedman of the South, whose life-long

occupation has been work in the soil, should strike out for himself, secure a portion of the public domain, call around him his brothers, who may not be fortunate enough to possess the necessities for farming, and with their aid and his enterprise open up the way in the West for educating the colored people of this country in true independence and enterprise, such as it seems impossible to attain in communities where the larger and better portion of the soil from which their sustenance comes is held by those who despise them and would deny them every thing that make of them good, intelligent, and upright citizens.

Unjust and Mischievous Criticism.

It seems to be universally conceded, among just and fair-minded men, that General GRANT has carried out, in good faith, and to the very letter, every pledge he made to the people during the campaign which ended in his election to the Presidency, and in his inaugural address on entering upon the duties of his high office. He has introduced into every department of the Government the most rigid economy.

The expenditures of the Government have been reduced to the lowest possible point. Under his administration taxes have been collected more vigorously and faithfully than ever before. Through the wise administration of the Secretary of the Treasury the public debt has been largely decreased. It is now two hundred millions of dollars less than it was when he became President; and the interest on this debt, which the people are required to pay annually, is more than ten millions of dollars less. Taxes, to the extent of eighty millions of dollars, have been taken from the shoulders of the people. Dishonest and incompetent servants have been promptly removed, and every thing has been done to lessen the burdens of the people, and to secure to all classes their just rights.

And yet, in spite of this universal admission that we have the most honest and economical administration of public affairs with which the country has been blessed, he has been, or is now, the object of more bitter and indiscriminate abuse from those who claim to be members of the same party, than was ever before showered upon a President by his political friends. There is hardly a Washington correspondent of a Republican paper, and indeed very few Republican papers, who do not seem greedily to seize upon every possible pretext that may present itself for an assault upon him.

Every real or supposed error, on his part, however frivolous, is made an excuse for unjust and malignant criticism. His opinions are as severely denounced as his acts, and the worst motives are attributed to both. That he should be maligned and misrepresented by his political opponents is to be expected; and were he to commit any act of infidelity to his party, or be guilty of any official delinquency, he would justly deserve the censure of his own friends. But we are at a loss to understand the motives which prompt Republican correspondents and Republican editors to assail him as fiercely and as eagerly as many of them do for a mere difference of opinion, or a mistake in the selection of an officer of the Government.

It seems to us that even if he had made an occasional trifling mistake, Republicans, at least, should, for the sake of the good of the Republic, and in his fidelity to it, to his official pledges, and in consideration of his glorious services to the country, overlook them. But, instead of this, too many of them are furnishing capital to the common enemy by their attacks, and seem to forget all his great deeds, his high personal character, and his uniform fidelity to his party and principles. A continuation of this unjust and malignant course must result, in the end, most disastrously to the Republican party.

Another State Lost.

As we intimated last week might be the case, Georgia has followed the example of ten other of the slave States, and cast in her lot with the rebel Democracy. At the election held in that State on the 20th, 21st, and 22d instants the Democracy achieved a signal triumph. They have a majority in this State of about 10,000; have carried both branches of it, is believed, of the Legislature, and have elected five of the seven members of Congress. This result has been achieved mainly by the system of terrorism or coercion resorted to by the rebel planters toward negro employees. In many places, where they could not induce the colored man to vote their ticket by threatening to deprive him of work, they resorted to more violent measures. The appeal of TOOMBS and STREPHENS to the rebel Democracy, before the election, to disregard the rights conferred on the colored man by the reconstruction acts, had the desired effect. The watch-word of the Democrats was, "No vote, no work." It is thought that from twelve to fifteen thousand colored men—enough to give them the State—were forced to vote the Democratic ticket by their threats of violence or starvation.

The fruit of this victory, besides five new members of Congress, will be two United States Senators. The New York Tribune makes this defeat of our party the occasion for renewing its attack upon Governor BELLOCK and the Republican party of the State. It attributes the misfortune to his bad conduct, and seems to intimate that, though his term of office is not out for a year at least, he should be got rid of by withholding his salary. The truth is that the rebel Democracy would have had complete control of the State long ago but for his brave and patriotic course, aided by such men as BELLOCK.

The Tribune, though it thus attempts to hold Gov. BELLOCK and his Republican associates responsible for our defeat, substantially admits, almost in the same breath, that it was brought about by the compulsory votes cast by colored men for the rebel ticket. That is the truth. There are now only four of the slave States left to the Republicans. Unchecked amnesty will lose us all of them at the next election—Florida and Alabama, at any rate. Will not Congress pause before they end a year all that has been done for the enfranchisement of the colored race by an act of magnanimity?

P. S.—It turns out that the rebel Democracy carried Florida at the recent election. This reduces the Republican South to three.

The Enemies of the Republican Party.

The most dangerous enemies of the Republican party are those who are within its own ranks. That is now, as it has been almost from its organization, afflicted with this fatal evil. COWAN, and DOOLITTLE, and DIXON, and JOHNSON, and scores of other men, who claimed to be Republicans, and were trusted with high positions, have sought, by insidious and treacherous means, to destroy, while pretending to act with the Republican party. And there are now in that party scores of equally prominent men, like SCHURZ and FARNSWORTH, working with the ingenuity and industry of evil spirits to undermine the party which has honored them so much beyond their merits.

But these mischievous plotters are not the only internal enemies the Republican party have to fear. There is still a larger class, who

are quite as dangerous, though influenced by entirely different motives. These are those weak and narrow-minded men constantly declaring that the party has "fulfilled its mission," and is about to tumble to pieces. They are, therefore, always striving to fulfill their predictions by co-operating with their fallen brethren to secure its defeat.

The internal enemies of the Republican party may, therefore, be divided into two parties—the shallow-minded and weak-headed on the one part, and the unprincipled, ambitious demagogues on the other. The one is willfully bent on destroying it, from corrupt and malicious motives, while the other is influenced by cowardly fears. If the party should ever be destroyed, it will owe its downfall to the treachery of such unscrupulous "friends" as SCHURZ, BROWN, and their "Republican" organs, and their long train of foolish followers, howling for a new party, based on "universal amnesty" or "revenue reform." It has nothing to fear from its open, undisguised opponents. Its only real danger is its secret foes, constantly assailing its policy and principles, under the garb of greater party and honesty than other men. There is no safety while these men are permitted to remain in our ranks. An army composed of traitors and cowards, or, to be more moderate, of disaffected officers, and timid, indifferent soldiers, with no heart for the fight, and no confidence in its success, would do little to win victory, if they did not do much to ensure defeat. There is no safety for the Republican party till the traitors are scourged from it, and the timid abandon their cowering and indifference.

The San Domingo Flurry.

One lesson of the recent outburst at Washington is not far to seek. The President must select for Commissioners under the Senate's resolution (should it pass the House) men whom the whole country knows and will trust. We cannot afford any more doubts about this matter. The report of the Commission must be so clear, and the men who make it must stand so high, that their verdict will be accepted with unquestioning readiness as an end of strife. The resolution itself is clumsy and verbose, and it calls for investigation enough to keep two or three Congresses in the Capitol and the State Department, and the men who make it must stand so high, that their verdict will be accepted with unquestioning readiness as an end of strife. The resolution itself is clumsy and verbose, and it calls for investigation enough to keep two or three Congresses in the Capitol and the State Department, and the men who make it must stand so high, that their verdict will be accepted with unquestioning readiness as an end of strife.

"Resolved, &c., That the President of the United States be authorized to appoint three Commissioners, and also a secretary, the latter to be versed in the English and Spanish languages, to proceed to the Island of San Domingo, and to inquire into and to ascertain: First, The political state and condition of the Dominican Republic. Second, The desire and disposition of the people of the said Republic to become annexed and form a part of the United States of America. Third, The physical, mental, and moral condition of said people, and their general condition as to material wealth and industrial capacity. Fourth, The resources of the country, its products, its waters and forests; the products of its waters and forests, and the general character of the soil; the extent and proportion thereof capable of cultivation; the climate and health of the country